Fellowship

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These Least

Once they found Him in the hay,
Exiled to a cattle stable.
Past the tinsel of today,
Past our merriment and fable,
Who will find Him, outcast still?
Who will soothe the crying
Of earth's children—hungry, ill,
Shelterless, and dying?

ELINOR LENNEN

The Christian Faith and the American Scene, by C. G. Rutenber
Four Days After Christmas, by Alfred Hassler
Pacifism Under the Occupation, by Diderich Lund
Letter from Fukui, by Floyd Schmoe

THIS MONTH

CULBERT G. RUTENBER, professor of the Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, challenges the Christian Church to live up to its prophetic mission in *The Christian Faith and the American Scene*. . . . FELLOWSHIP's editor indulges in another flight of fancy as he imagines what would happen if—but maybe you'd better read it for yourself in *Four Days After Christmas*. . . . Nevin Sayre, traveling in Europe as, among other things, this magazine's representative, heard a Norwegian pacifist tell what it was like to hold his position through the German occupation of Norway. Nevin —no laggard he—sent a copy of the speech to us post-haste; you'll find it, slightly abbreviated, in *Pacifism Under the Occupation* . . . which, with *Letter from Fukui* and the usual features, makes up this issue.

NEXT MONTH

SOME special things for January . . . A New Year's look-around by A. J. Muste . . . the story of the Bruderhof, at Primavera, Paraguay, and its attempts to "live brotherhood" . . . a PRB survey on COs in World War II . . . and more besides.

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship

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December, 1948 Vol. XIV—No. 11

Subheads

Irony

Ten members of the Peacemakers were arrested on September 10 while picketing a draft-registration center in New York. The charge: Disturbing the peace.

Sophist

An atomic scientist has taken exception to a footnote in which this department argued that to talk of "experts" in atomic defense is obviously foolish in the face of the repeated assertions by atomic scientists that there is no defense against atomic bombs "and none is to be expected." Our scientist correspondent calls this a "childish sophism," which, translated, would mean a childishly false argument intended to deceive.

We hold, as might be expected, a diametrically opposite point of view. We think it is false and intended to deceive, though not childish, to misuse words in such a way as to minimize or camouflage unpleasant realities like the fact that there is no defense. Our scientist would make short shrift, to coin an expression, of anyone who set himself up as an expert in making two plus two equal five, since it is unarguable that two plus two do not equal five, but four. Since it is equally unarguable, according to the overwhelming testimony of the scientists and the generals, that there is no defense against atomic warfare, the occupation of expert in such defense is equally untenable.

What these experts are experts in, really, is keeping casualties as low as possible in an atomic war, and in hiding as much essential industry as possible out of sight of the enemy bombers for as long as possible, and in arranging measures of retaliation as swift and deadly as may be. All of this, by the deadly logic of war, may be necessary, but it is not defense. It may even be suicide, since the air currents may sweep radioactive clouds back on ourselves, or the concentration of radioactivity may become so great as to threaten the contin-

ued existence of all life. But to label these things as what they are would disturb people, and so the experts in carrying on these monstrous pursuits are classified as men dealing in the admirable matter of defense.

We have a suggestion to make in this matter: that the word "defense" be dropped entirely in talking about modern war. There will be none, even for the defense experts, and it would be as well to be honest about it. Let's call it the Department of Mass Slaughter, or of Voluntary Suicide, or even just plain War. But not defense. The word is obsolete.

Reassurance

For the sake of readers who have been worrying over the possibility that the earth might turn turtle—or turtler than it is already—we have reassuring news. The U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey has announced that it does not anticipate any such development. So that leaves nothing to worry about now except the high cost of living, the danger of depression, and the threat of war.

Querulous Quotes—Senseless Agony Division

"If we must again engage in the senseless agony of war, it might be better to do it now than to face the kind of life we and our children would have if Europe were Sovietized."—PHILIP D. REED, *Chairman of the Board, General Electric.*

The Japanese are "an officer's dream—they do what you tell them to do."—LIEUT.-GEN. CLARK M. EICHELBERGER, *in the San Francisco Chronicle.*

". . . War is a form of insanity bred in the minds of insane men. . . . We must apply wealth and science, intelligence and reason, courage and moral leadership in our effort to stamp it out. We must have a strong Army, Navy and Air Force." —*The Mayor of Baltimore, quoted in the Congressional Record.*

Normal

"If OPA is eliminated entirely, prices of automobiles may be expected to reach normal within six months."—NAM PRESIDENT ROBERT R. WASON, July 6, 1946.

Reach, did you say?

Precise Definitions—Un-American Activities Dep't.

What is Communism?

A system by which one small group seeks to rule the world.

How can a Communist be identified?

It is easy. Ask him to name ten things wrong with the United States. Then ask him to name two things wrong with Russia. His answers will show him up even to a child.

What is the difference in fact between a Communist and a Fascist?

None worth noticing.

—From *100 Things You Should Know About Communism in the U.S.A.*, published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

The promises of Christmas had been forgotten, when the strange events occurred that year—

Four Days After Christmas

By ALFRED HASSLER

AFTERWARD, when people thought about it, they were inclined to belittle the things that happened that day, and to apologize for their own enthusiasm. Those who had cried "miracle" most loudly at the time blushed and looked the other way when someone reminded them of their rashness. Still, something had happened, and if it wasn't a miracle it certainly wasn't anything ordinary, either.

It wasn't even Christmas day when the thing happened. If it had been Christmas, more people might have gone on believing it, because Christmas is a memory of miracles, of promises that were made and are somehow true but not for our time. But Christmas had come and gone, and while the "holidays" were in full swing, the mood of people had drifted imperceptibly from the brief selflessness of Christmas to the self-centredness of the New Year.

Of course, it might be held that whoever arranged the thing, if someone—pardon me, Someone—did, was only being practical about it. Apart from the danger of confusing the—the—whatever-it-was—with the more or less accustomed kindliness of Christmas, there was also the fact that its application would have been less dramatic, with streets and offices empty and everyone home for the holiday.

Anyway, what happened was that on the twenty-ninth of December, which that year chanced to fall on Wednesday, at one o'clock in the afternoon, everyone in the world suddenly was flooded with love for his fellow human beings—all of them, everywhere.

It happened at one o'clock, as I said, and that was something strange, too. It happened at one o'clock everywhere—all the reports agreed on that—and yet it happened at exactly the same instant all over the world. You get the impossibility of that, of course. The time difference. When it's one o'clock in New York it's—well, say, six in the evening in Paris, and eight at night somewhere else, and so on. So if a thing happened at one o'clock in Paris, people in New York would hear about it, by radio and cable, hours before it was one o'clock in New York. But they didn't. Argue it away as you will, there it is. It happened everywhere at one o'clock, and it happened everywhere at the same instant. The impact of that didn't dawn on people till a day or so later—they were too busy with other things *that* day—and when it did it had a terrific effect. Sobered people down, of course, and scared them. It was something they couldn't explain, and they fled from it. They forgot it, deliberately, tore it from their minds, buried it, and if they

recalled it at all, they remembered it as a myth, a folktale, like the story of Joshua making the sun stand still. Say, that Joshua story! You suppose . . . ?

Well, anyway, at one o'clock on December twenty-ninth, in the year of our Lord—but maybe we'd better skip that, under the circumstances —anyway, on that day, at that time, everybody loved everybody else. It was fantastic. It was revolutionary. And it was stupendously, wonderfully beautiful. That's why you see so many people cry when they try to talk about it, even when they don't believe in it, really, any more, except as one of the hopes or the promises that are true, so true, but not for us. It was so beautiful.

It was funny, too, or it would have been if anyone had felt like laughing—that way, I mean. Most everybody *was* laughing, of course, or crying with joy. But some ludicrous things did happen.

Now these things I collected on my own. The papers never printed a word of it. Not a blessed word. They started to. I saw some of the copy that began to flow toward the composing rooms of the *Times* right after one o'clock and it was unbelievable. But of course it takes a while to get an edition out, and the thing ended in two hours, and the copy was killed. And not a newspaper in the world, not even a religious paper, has published a word about it since.

But I started to tell you about what happened. I have some of the notes in front of me now. These are the funny things I mentioned, though maybe not so funny at that.

Item—At 12:59 p.m., a prominent Southern Congressman came to the climax of a speech about "mongrelism," which means, in his vocabulary, the free social mixing of Negroes and whites. At one o'clock he stopped short, with a puzzled look on his face. Then he said, slowly, "But how that must hurt my black brothers, to hear me say things like this. Gentlemen, I'm afraid I'm a sinner!" And he sat down.

Item—A well-known figure in the building industry who was speaking before a luncheon of the Dubuque Chamber of Commerce on the subject, "Public Housing Is Communism," pointed out abruptly that people do have to have places to live, and perhaps if private industry were not so profit-conscious, public housing would not be necessary. He then asked contributions to build a new home for the leading "agitator" in town, an admitted Communist, with the explanation: "After all, the best answer to communism is a working democracy."

Item—Also at 12:59 p.m., the impartial arbitrator presiding over a meeting of representatives of a striking electrical union and their employers raised his gavel preparatory to adjourning the meeting, since tempers on both sides had reached a breaking-point. One minute later he lowered the gavel quietly, as the shouting was cut off as though with a knife. Twenty minutes later the strike had been settled to the complete satisfaction of both sides.

Items (2)—At 1:10 p.m., the Grand Kleagle of the Ku Klux Klan approached a Negro scrubwoman on the street of a small Georgia town, and begged her forgiveness. She smiled at him and forgave him, and then asked his forgiveness for the hatred

she had felt toward him. . . . In Detroit, a prominent anti-Semite was observed in tears, scrubbing furiously at some ugly words painted on the brick wall of a synagogue.

Item—At 1:36 p.m., a prominent clergyman noted for his sermons on the power of love, was seen walking the streets with ashes on his head and tears streaming down his cheeks.

Well, there were hundreds, thousands, millions of things like that. It was very odd, when you think of it. No one felt that he had suddenly received vast wisdom, or an abrupt commitment to truth. It was just an impulse of love, that was all. But with that, problems that had seemed insoluble yielded easily. And lying simply went out of business. It was as though someone—excuse it, please, Someone—wanted to show people what really lay at the heart of all their difficulties.

The most dramatic of all effects, though, was at Lake Success, where the United Nations Security Council was meeting in emergency session. The crisis between the Soviet Union and the United States had increased to a point where no one could see anything but almost immediate war. A pall of gloom hung over the UN sessions. Representatives of the two nations, and of their principal satellites and supporters, seemed to be caught in a web of angry terror. Even while they hurled abuse at one another, their eyes looked trapped, and afraid.

On that day the session was to end. Nothing had been accomplished, unless you call it an accomplishment to multiply tenfold the anguish and suspicion of two billion people.

At five minutes of one Mr. Vishinsky, the Soviet delegate, concluded as virulent a speech as had been made in the UN's history. Warren Austin, the American delegate who was scheduled to speak next, gathered his notes together with a shaking hand. His face was choleric; his neck above his white collar had turned brick red. In the press seats men turned to each other and shrugged. This would be the end, but good.

But the Chairman did not immediately recognize Mr. Austin. The Chairman was new at these meetings: he came from a small country that had just been named to the Council, and he was substituting this day for the regular delegate, who was ill. It was a small Middle Eastern country the Chairman came from.

Silence seems longer than it is when men's nerves are tense. A minute passed. Two. The Chairman seemed unconscious of the time. He sat with his chin resting on his chest, his eyes either lowered to the ground or closed, it was hard to say which. He might have been thinking, or resting, or even praying.

12:57.

12:58.

12:59.

One o'clock. The Chairman's head rose, and he smiled, very sweetly.

"Brother Austin," said the Chairman, "you have the floor."

What Mr. Austin said that day was not recorded, for the newspapers have never printed anything of what happened during those two hours, anywhere, and the minutes of that meeting have

disappeared, mysteriously. But it has been possible to piece together, from the stories of incredulous witnesses (for whom it is already a myth, a promise that is true, but not for us!) something of the events of the next thirty minutes.

The American delegate (so the stories go) seemed confused at first. His notes lay on the table, unheeded. Later, while he was still speaking, Mr. Austin's left hand swept them together and into an ashtray and then, while he still spoke, touched a lighted match to them.

The United States, said Mr. Austin slowly, had grown arrogant with power, and stiff-necked with pride. It must, and did now, beg the forgiveness of all the nations of the world, including the Soviet Union, for its unwillingness to compromise, for its reliance on military force, for a considerable number of sins, which Mr. Austin enumerated carefully and painfully.

"I think," finished Mr. Austin, "that our brothers of the Soviet Union have been guilty of many things, too. Between us, and"—he looked at the rest of the delegates, "—among us, we have helped to spread fear and hatred among millions of people who want only peace. I think that we can solve all of our problems now, and I suggest that we sit down and do so."

At three o'clock in the afternoon, at exactly three o'clock everywhere, and yet in an instant, it ended. It was as though someone—sorry, Someone—had reached for a switch and the flood of love was turned off.

Not entirely, though, I think. Some of it stayed, I believe. There are still vast problems in the relationship of Russia and the United States, and even great tension, but somehow it is not as great as it was. If Austin and Vishinsky solved everything that afternoon, the total solution did not stick, but they have been seen looking at each other in a puzzled way now and then, and when they catch each other's eye they smile sheepishly.

And in the life of our people generally there is a difference, too. Voices are a little softer, tempers less quickly lost. People may be seen standing on street corners now and then, lost in thought, and whenever that happens there is a sweetness on their faces that draws an answering smile from passers-by. Maybe that was the intention, after all. Maybe the promises of Christmas go back too far, and the time between makes it easy to believe that though they are true, they are not for us. Perhaps this newer myth—this later miracle, if you will—may still work, and the people see that the promises are true, and that they are for us.

Possessions

Our father owned a star.
And by its light
We lived in father's house
And slept at night.

The tragedies of life,
Like death and war,
Were faces looking in
At our front door.

But finally all came in,
From near and far:—
We didn't own a lock,
We owned a star.

WILLIAM E. STAFFORD

THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE AMERICAN SCENE

A penetrating analysis of the demands which the crisis of our age makes upon the Christian Church.

By CULBERT G. RUTENBER

THE AGONIES OF A civilization are never pleasant to watch. But the crisis of our age is doubly disturbing because of the role of the Church. Cast in a role of heroic proportions, the Church has so snarled its lines that it can scarcely any longer get back in the play. Act succeeds act, disaster follows disaster, the apocalyptic climax approaches; but the Church flounders aimlessly through the plot, momently showing signs of falling flat on its face. We are wont to say that we live in a tragic age. But really there is only one tragedy—the tragedy of a stammering church that in history's greatest crisis cannot speak the redeeming word; the tragedy of an impotent church that in humanity's greatest need cannot invoke the power of its God for the healing of the nations. The church militant has become the church moribund. And who shall deliver us from the body of this death?

The Christian Church and the American scene have been interacting ever since the founding of the country. What makes our day so serious is that increasingly, with the arrival of the mass mind, depersonalization processes, and refinement of propaganda techniques, the world influences the Church more than the Church influences the world. The authority and prestige that once belonged to the Church have been transferred to science, business, education. The machine has become our Lord God Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth. And from the new Sinai come new laws of human relations —laws as cold, impersonal, and ruthless as the machine itself. Against this usurper, the Church has fought a losing battle. One by one she has been pushed out of the areas where once her weight was felt. Others now give the social, educational, cultural leadership to which the Church once aspired. Even the realm of morals has been taken away from us and given to another—to the sociologist and the psychologist. The Church has been reduced to an institution whose function it is to comfort the aged and dying and to wipe the eyes of those who can't take it in the struggle for life.

Poor little Church!—little in program, little in power, little in soul. Sometimes it pathetically tries to belong by hanging onto the coat tails of the world and crying "me, too," as during a period of war; most of the time it stands wistfully on the fringe of things, trying to see what is going on, plucking the sleeve of every passerby in the hope of getting a listener for what

it wants to say. Poor prudential, timid, little Church—tacking, as Hromadka put it, amendment after amendment onto the Christian absolutes; wandering, in the words of Paul Scherer, "from room to room of humanity's tragic house, wringing its hands, mumbling its creeds, its best wishes and kindest regards, making its distant gestures toward eternity; not even meeting man's needs, let alone shaping anything; apologizing for man's poverty; fawning on his governments at war; stroking a cross, but never getting itself crucified because it is not worth crucifying."

Tide of Judgment

So there we are. And now our compromises, our sins, our apostasy are all coming back to roost in one awful tide of judgment. And we are afraid. We are afraid of the Communists; afraid of the atomic bomb; afraid of a depression; afraid of the Catholics; afraid of anything and everything; afraid of God.

And we are frustrated. A vast sense of futility has all but engulfed us. Our machinery grows more and more complex, but moves us no nearer our goal. Our talk mounts higher and higher—but nobody listens. Our very language betrays our isolation. To men who have been educated in a culture whose verbal coin is "equation," "molecule," "relativity," or "carburetor," "rubber," "wages"—such words as "atonement," "regeneration," "sanctification" seem like words from another planet. The modern mind, says Hocking, can comprehend the love of Freud or even the love of Plato. But the love of Christ remains incomprehensible. It has no point of contact.

The picture is not a reassuring one. And yet there is hope. By the events through which we have been passing, God has been trying to strike up a serious conversation with his people. And the word of God may yet become the life of man, for man cannot live by bread alone or by faith alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God. The word that shakes us until only those things which cannot be shaken remain; the word that breaks us until our brokenness becomes a cry for mercy. No half-way measures will do *this* job. Four hundred years of Protestant history have to be rethought and re-evaluated. The Church must find itself at the foot of the Cross repeating the words of the prodigal, "I have sinned."

We are now forced to rediscover the true collectivism of the New Testament—the collectivism of Acts 2:44: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common"—the "we" of the body of Christ. Christ came, not only to save individuals, but to establish a new community—his body, the Church, the continuation in history of the Incarnation, of the Atonement, and of the Resurrection. Our existence as Christians is collective. Our witness, too, is collective.

Now this high and noble view of the Church immediately judges us in our modern practices.

It judges us at the point of our church membership. It's a holy thing to be a member of Christ's body, sharing the life of Jesus Christ, the purpose of Jesus Christ, and the destiny of Jesus Christ. But you'd never know it as either holy or noble from our entrance requirements, for we haven't any. To be a Communist means something.

A Communist is tested, investigated, indoctrinated, disciplined. It costs something to be a member of the Communist Party. But it costs nothing to be a member of the Church. You have to be committed to be a Communist; you only have to be corralled to be a church member. No wonder we're losing the battle to an aggressive, purposeful enemy. The Christian rabble can expect no victories until, like Gideon's band, it tightens its ranks and becomes a disciplined remnant—a remnant that dares to write across its vestures "Holiness unto the Lord." Someday we'll learn the truth of the words of Howard Spring: the kingdom of God is not advanced by filling the churches with men, but by filling men with God. It means something to be a member of His body.

But this New Testament collectivism judges us not only at the point of our church membership, it judges us also at the point of our church practices. Do we deplore the class divisions of society? Our churches reveal the same divisions. Do we demand that the nations live in peace? We cannot even live in peace among ourselves. Do we preach justice to the world? We do not practice justice with each other. Are we horrified at the racial policy of a Hitler? We are racially exclusive in the churches, too, jimcrowing the communion table, the very blood and body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

After we have asked ourselves who we are, we must ask ourselves a second very simple question, What do we believe? For as the body of Christ we have the mind of Christ and, hence, a definite thought-pattern. I do not have space to develop this point. I can only insist that this question about beliefs must be asked. Dr. F. S. C. Northrop, professor of philosophy at Yale University, in his book *The Meeting of East and West* says, "A religion without theology is a religion that does not know what it means by the words which it uses."

What Do We Do?

After we have asked who we are and what we believe, our third question must be, What do we do? What *do* we do? History tells us that normally evangelism and a concern for social righteousness and social reform have gone hand in hand. Let us illustrate with the great Evangelical Revival at the end of the Eighteenth Century. This period has been one of the great glories of the Christian Church, for this revival drove tens of thousands of earnest Christians out into all sorts of reform and humanitarian committees and societies. Scarcely any area of human relations was ignored. There were societies for temperance, peace, anti-slavery, prison reform; societies for the education of women, of adults, and of the poor. There were promoters of cooperatives, prophets for the labor movement, builders of charities and of all sorts of helpful institutions. A great wave of Christian love flowed out from the churches into the world. This pattern has been repeated with every great revival. In the wake of each has come social and humanitarian interest. Changed men have changed society.

When Jesus was here in the body we find that he not only saved souls but ministered to bodies and minds too. We are the present body of Christ. What does the present body do? Everything that the original body did. In the days of his

flesh, he went about doing good. In his incarnation in the Church he goes about doing good. It's as simple as that! And when you stop to think about it, how could it be otherwise? We are trustees of the very love of God, shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost. And that love must find expression or we shall lose our souls. It *must* —imperative mood! Our own spiritual growth depends upon finding a channel for God's love to flow to every human need; for you cannot limit love and keep it.

Love and Hate

We shall love, then. And because we love we shall hate. For love and hate belong to each other—like man and wife. God is love—and therefore he hates, hates the sin that damns and dwarfs and perverts. Christ is love incarnate, the love that gave itself in devotion to a fallen race. But when we turn the pages of the book of Revelation we read of the wrath of the lamb. And the wrath of the lamb is more terrible than any wrath with which man is familiar, for it is the wrath of pure and holy love, the wrath of a love that hates.

But when God breathes upon us again, we shall be capable of this hatred! And as the body of Jesus Christ, his continuing body in history, we shall have a voice, his voice. And we shall say the things that God wills. We will abandon the role of little Sir Echo to the world and we will speak for God. We will preach—preach the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. We will point men to the lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. And we will teach—teach the whole counsel and truth of God. And we will attack, attack, attack in a mighty offensive against sin wherever we find it, the sin of a society that has become the instrument of antichrist. As the people of God, we will be the conscience of our modern world, approving here and disapproving there. As its conscience we will say, "This is right; but this is wrong." As its conscience we will be *against* things—specific things: against an economic procedure that put profits ahead of people; against a caste system that puts color ahead of Christ; against a national policy that is self-righteous and unbending and incipiently imperialistic. We will be *for* things too—specific things: things like the Marshall Plan, not as a bulwark against communism, but as an expression of Christian concern . . . things like the old Stratton Bill, to open our country to a fair share of displaced persons . . . things that make for peace, and righteousness, and justice everywhere. This we shall do for Jesus' sake, being his voice in the modern world, interpreting the whole content of his mind to a wicked and adulterous generation.

But if we are the body of Jesus Christ, we cannot merely talk. A body that has become all mouth is no body at all. The body of Christ must move, act, do, serve.

The first avenue for Christian expression must be the rebuilding of Christian kindness within the Church itself. We must recover the reputation of the early Church: "Behold how these Christians love one another." Such love is the foundation for any effective witness.

After we have reconstructed the love foundations of the Christian community, we must rethink the whole effort of laying redeeming

hands upon our modern world. The effort must be a group effort, as opposed to an individualistic effort, because we live in a world of groups—a world dominated by big corporations, big labor unions, big government machinery. An indication of what I have in mind is found in the story of George Stoll, a layman, who gathered around him two hundred laymen from various churches and formed a committee to improve the conditions in the penal, health, and child-care institutions in his city. The committee's work increased and enlarged until its influence spread throughout the state.

The Dagger and the Cross

We have now asked ourselves three questions: Who are we? What do we believe? What do we do? We must now ask ourselves one final question, How do we do it?

John Addington Symonds, poking about in a little shop in Lombardy, was shown an ancient wooden crucifix with a small steel knob fixed into the back between the arms. Symonds pressed the knob and the upper and lower parts of the crucifix came asunder. Holding the top, he drew from the scabbard a small steel poniard concealed in the thickness of the wood behind the agonized Christ. What had been a crucifix became a dagger in his hand. The dagger in the Cross; the Cross and the dagger. What a combination!

For the dagger and Cross belong to two different worlds: the world of the secular and the world of the sacred, the world of the human and the world of the divine. The dagger represents worldly power of every kind: the force of violence, the force of wealth and prestige, the force of bigness, the force of law and government. The Cross reveals an entirely different kind of force—a power of which the world never dreamed. "We preach Christ crucified," cried Paul, "the power of God unto salvation." Who would have thought it? How odd to say that *here* in this blood-stained Cross is the power of God. No wonder that the preaching of the Cross has been a stumbling block, foolishness. For it is the paradox of strength through weakness, of victory through humiliation. Only God could have invented the Cross. Only God could have conceived of destroying the works of the devil through a shameful crucifixion.

The Church and the Dagger

But the Church has never been able to trust the Cross alone. It wants the dagger too. Spiritual power must be buttressed by material power. Look at the history of the Church—Constantine, the crusades, the medieval synthesis, Christianity by legislation, Christianity by wealth, Christianity by bigness, Christianity by eloquence, Christianity by education. And in times of war and international upheaval, this lust for material power, this yearning for the comfort of the dagger in its narrow and primitive sense becomes irresistible. We want God, but we want guns too. We want foreign missions but we also want bombing missions. We're for Bibles—but we're also for bullets. The history of the Church is the history of the effort to trust both the Cross and the dagger. And we have failed. We cannot combine spiritual and worldly power in stable equilibrium. The foot of the Cross and the point of

the dagger are ill-mated. We must make a choice. We must renounce the dagger and all it stands for and seize the Cross. His Cross? Yes, *his Cross*. But not his Cross only. For Jesus said if any will come after me, let him take up his own cross, nail himself to it, and become broken bread and poured-out wine for the needs of the world.

And thus we come to our last observation. Just as the body of Jesus was caught in suffering between the love of God on the one hand and the guilt of man on the other, so his present body, the Church, can prosper only as it, too, is bruised by the double pressure of the love of God and the sin of man. The Church is the continuation of the atonement in history. It climbs its lesser Calvary to fill up that which is lacking of the sufferings of Christ. The Church can never make known the grace of a crucified Savior unless it, too, is on the Cross. Our programs will fail, our plans will be frustrated, our efforts will be impotent until we learn the power of sacrificial love. God wills our crucifixion that out of our brokenness the love of Christ might shine.

Leslie Weatherhead puts it this way. "An angel drew near to the throne of grace, and God said, 'What wouldst thou?' And the angel said, 'I would fain be a savior of men: the cry of their misery and pain and sin has sounded even in heaven. Suffer me to fly down from above and rescue them.' And the host of heaven drew near to listen. And God said—and his voice was very gentle: 'Thou wouldst be a savior of men, yet is thine eye bright and happy, and thy heart beats with a joy that has never been dimmed, and thy hands are white and clean. Hast thou not beheld my Son?' And the angel kept silence, for he understood not these things. And God said, 'Go for a season and dwell with men, and see what thou shalt see upon the earth.' And the angel departed.

"Now, long time afterward there stood one before the throne, and his mien was sad, yet from his presence shone a great hope and a great joy. And God said, 'Who art thou?' And he said, 'I am thine angel whom Thou didst send to dwell awhile with men.' And God said, 'But thine eye is dim with pain, and thy heart is broken, and thy hands are stained with blood.' And the angel answered, 'I have seen sorrow and pain and sin. The sons of men grind one another for wealth, and spill their brother's blood for power, and trample their sisters that they may know pleasure. And when I saw, my eyes were dim; and when I loved, my heart was broken; and when I strove to lift the fallen, my hands were stained with blood.' And God said, 'And hast thou returned that thy wounds may be healed?' And the angel said, 'No, Lord, for man's sake I would cling to my pain. How else could I save him? Bid me return to the place of man's anguish. I cannot raise him save as I stand and suffer at his side.' And there was a movement in heaven, and all the hosts thereof turned and looked, and behold, a Lamb standing as though it had been newly slain. And God turned to the angel and said, 'Go, for now thou, too, hast learned to be a savior of men.'"

(The foregoing is a condensation of an address delivered by Dr. Rutenber before the Northern Baptist Convention, in Milwaukee, May 26, 1948.)

LETTER FROM *Fukui*

FUKUI IS A CITY of about eighty thousand situated amidst rice paddies on a flat plain between high wooded mountains. The mountains extend down to the Sea of Japan almost due west of Tokyo. There were textile mills here before the war, and prosperous farmers. In June of 1945 American B-29s sowed fire bombs in a circle around the city and when the fires were out the city was gone. Hundreds were killed; the rest were homeless.

But lumber was available from the forests of cryptomaria and red pine nearby, the people were energetic and the city was quickly rebuilt. This spring the mills were again in operation and the city prospered. On June 28, almost three years to the day from the bombing, the earth under Fukui went into violent convulsions. There was no advance warning. Streets suddenly buckled and huge cracks ran down the pavement. Reinforced concrete buildings which had survived the fire swayed out of line and collapsed.

Again the unhappy city was in ruin, with thousands of her people dead or injured and most of them again homeless. But a second time they undertook the task of rebuilding. Less than a month later the heavens opened up over Fukui, eight inches of rain fell in one day and flash floods swept down the mountain canyons. A score of people were drowned, seven thousand homes were swept away or submerged, and thousands of people camped in the hills. Today Fukui looks more like a disorderly rubbish heap than like a modern city. A heavy odor of water-soaked debris and open sewers hangs on the evening fogs that drift across the rice paddies. Walking the streets, especially at night, one has the illusion of a still unstable earth. Tall buildings stand at gravity-defying angles and the pavement twists and rolls like the waves of a frozen sea. Thatched cottages withstood the shock but were consumed quickly by the fires that followed. The heavy tile roofs of more substantial homes settled and crushed the houses into the ground beneath them.

But although Fukui is down for the third time Fukui is still not "out." The resilience of the Japanese people is amazing; Fukui is already being rebuilt again. Armed with saws and wrecking bars whole families swarm about over the ruins. The streets are full of chattering people bargaining for needed equipment at the booths which line the shattered streets and even small children carry heavy loads or push at carts piled high with salvaged materials. From crack of dawn until far into the night the work continues. The rubble is piled into garden walls and the frames of new houses rise on the old foundations.

Camped in two tents on the floor of the destroyed Jo Nohashi church I found fifteen students of Doshicha University of Kyoto. Around their tents are piled the broken stones that remain of the church edifice. On either side, open to the streets and the weather, are the temporary shacks of the parishioners, and to the rear are the twisted girders

and frames of a factory building burned by the fire bombs, its two tall concrete chimneys which withstood the war now earthquake-shattered stumps leaning crazily.

First Work Camp

This is the first work camp experiment in Japan and it seems to be working out beautifully. The boys and girls are spending their entire summer in Fukui. They brought their own rice and planted their own garden. Each day a truck brings a tank-trailer of water, the chlorine content of which proclaims its U. S. Army origin farther than one can read the initials on the truck. Each morning trucks provided by the prefectural government collect and bring four hundred children to the nursery school which twice a week becomes a vacation Bible school. Smaller teams of students visit hospitals and orphanages to determine relief needs and each afternoon they set up and handle the distribution of LARA food and clothing to the neighborhood. On Sundays various members of the group help with the services of the two Protestant churches which still function in Fukui.

In the evening we cooked a supper of rice, eggplant, and river trout over a charcoal-fired "hibachi," and later when the full moon appeared above the southern mountains and the mists began to gather over the rice fields, we strolled, singing nursery songs, to the campus of the Girls Middle School nearby. Families fanning themselves in front of their shelters smiled and called out to us and a mob of almost naked neighborhood children walked and sang with us. On the concrete grandstand, which is all that remains erect of the school, we held vesper services and later we danced the Virginia Reel to the immense delight of the children. About ten the two charming daughters of the principal of the school appeared with O'mochi and tea and we walked home in the white moonlight.

At four-thirty next morning in spite of my protests the girls were up making hot soup and tea for my breakfast and the boys walked with me to catch a five o'clock train back to Tokyo. At the station I found one of the fellows had been up even earlier to buy my ticket and hold a place for me in the line which early or late is a feature of every train departure. The moon had set and the air was cool but hundreds of people crowded the shattered waiting-room, and hundreds more in family groups surrounded by their possessions sat or lay on the pavement in the place before the station. Here and there small fires burned, heating water for their tea, and booths had been erected to sell them food. Only a few of them boarded our train; the others lived there!

A mile away in the country thatched farmhouses were coming to life and Japanese men and women were starting another day's work. These houses were intact and these people were moving in familiar ways, giving no evidence but that all was right with the whole wide world. Back at the camp a happy and enthusiastic group of Doshicha students were starting another day's work too. In the rebuilding of Fukui they will of course have played a very minor role; but in the building of the new Japan such adventures in fellowship and service will have, I feel sure, a deep significance.

—Floyd Schmoe

A Norwegian pacifist tells of nonviolent resistance to a conqueror, and of the effectiveness of—

Pacifism Under the Occupation

By DIDERICH H. LUND

WORLD WAR II is past, and the bitter challenge which we in Norway faced in the occupation remains only in our memories. But it would be both dangerous and unrealistic to dismiss the possibility of another war, however much we would like to persuade ourselves that such a war is impossible. Pacifists who live in countries that may risk the threat of invasion (and which of us can say that he does not?) must consider how they will meet a foreign army of occupation.

Prepare Now

We discovered early in the occupation of Norway that a great deal depended on how we had prepared ourselves before the outbreak of war. The calm and detached exchange of views becomes almost impossible after war breaks out, and in most countries only a small minority think of any alternative to military warfare when it comes to fighting for the values they wish to defend. It is, therefore, of the highest importance to pacifists to make the best use of the time, however short, which is now at our disposal, to increase this minority and spread this knowledge.

First and foremost, pacifists must educate themselves and others to a full recognition of the supreme value of fundamental democratic principles, being aware of the fact that the life of the individual can be most fully and deeply developed in a democratic society.

We must fight principles which we abhor, but must never direct our hatred against persons. To avoid this error we must make ours the conception of the image of God in every human being.

We must never be misled into believing that the end justifies the means, but realize that with evil means the best intentions will come to nothing. By adopting such a rule of life each of us may succeed in making himself an unconquerable fortress.

Before the outbreak of the war I believed that pacifists were obligated to struggle for what they considered right and good, and not content themselves simply with refusing to take part in preparations for war, and in fighting. Under the German occupation we found that

The Author

Diderich Lund is a Norwegian pacifist who lived through the German occupation of his country. This article is adapted from a speech he delivered at the first postwar conference of the War Resisters International at Shrewsbury, England, last summer.

most of us might live comparatively comfortably and undisturbed, if we could only force our eyes not to see, and our ears not to hear. But the urge to help when you see someone in distress is very strong, and just as strong will be the demand to fight for the values that make life worth living.

Faced with this demand, most people think only of seizing a gun and meeting violence with violence. But here the pacifist line of action stands out very clearly, as taught by Mahatma Gandhi. "Where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. But I believe that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, that forgiveness is more manly than punishment."

And for such nonviolent resistance conditions in Norway under German occupation were so ideal that the overwhelming majority of the people took to it almost spontaneously and practiced it with skill and vigor.

A Strategic Nonviolence

One important reservation must be made, however. A great many people took the way of nonviolent resistance because they felt it was the only effective way for a small nation to fight against overwhelming force. Our nonviolence was not the voluntary relinquishment by a strong nation of the use of violence against a weaker one.

As in most of the occupied countries, a strong resistance movement grew up in Norway. Unlike them, however, was its nonviolent nature. It is true that there was also a secret military organization, the Milorg, partly consisting of soldiers trained in Great Britain during the last years of the war and brought secretly into Norway. But it was the unarmed resistance of the civilians that sustained the nation and kept it united during the occupation.

Like any movement, the nonviolent resistance movement calls for adequate leadership, and it was interesting to see how the struggle itself brought leaders forth. The first were those who had, before the war, taken a clear stand for democracy and against Nazism, and who now openly and courageously stood up for their beliefs. Most of these first leaders were silenced, but they had been inspiring examples of the utmost importance to those who stood ready to take their places.

In the economic field our resistance broke down completely, although it soon became clear that every economic activity authorized by the Germans was intended to aid their war effort, even so humble and innocent an activity as growing potatoes. Norwegian men of business, contractors and workmen offered their services to the invaders and continued to do so throughout the war, in spite of strong agitation directed against it by the resistance leaders.

Moreover, where social conditions were bad and feelings of envy or hatred prevailed between different social groups, Nazism made a certain amount of progress. Fortunately there were not many such groups, for in Norway, where the Labor Party had been in power since 1936, we had gone far toward peaceful cooperation between trade unions and employers, between labor and capital.

After the resistance became organized an underground press was established to publish the facts and counteract the bewildering propa-

ganda, and to print for broadcast distribution among the people "paroles" advising them when to obey and when to refuse to obey a German order. The paroles were valuable as well in giving a feeling to the population that in some way justice and order still reigned, and as a rule were obeyed by practically everyone concerned. The Germans could do nothing but accept the situation, and in spite of their strenuous efforts to wipe out the secret presses, and the many thousands of Norwegians who lost their lives or were imprisoned and tortured, nothing could silence the voice of the press. New helpers were ready at any moment to fill the empty places, and new printing presses were always available.

Perhaps the most dangerous underground activity was the propaganda among the German troops. Not much of this work was done by the Norwegians, but we saw instances of excellent and daring propaganda by the German soldiers themselves, done at tremendous risk.

Service in and around the concentration camps set up by the Germans opened a new field of activity to daring youth. Contact had to be made between prisoners and the outside world, to tell prisoners which of their comrades, safely out of reach, they could name to the Gestapo if torture became unbearable, or to find out which had been named and were in danger. Now and then a prisoner threatened with torture and death had to be taken out of prison by some stratagem. The stories of these incidents are full of fantastic and thrilling details of cunning and daring and sacrifice, and they have filled our hearts with joy and pride as the facts became known.

Hiding places were arranged for those hunted by the Gestapo. The homes of elderly ladies were much preferred for this, and many of them sheltered fugitives constantly throughout the war years. But the solidarity was so general and widespread that one had the feeling one might enter any door and ask for protection. It was necessary also to give financial support to those who had lost their income as a result of engaging in resistance work, or those left behind by people who had escaped, or who had been imprisoned or executed; but everyone contributed, and it was never difficult to get the money.

The Place of Sabotage

Although the nonviolent resistance movement did not make use of sabotage in its military form, as did the Milorg, sabotage in factories or in administration that impeded German activities was accepted. However, this form of sabotage proved to be much less effective than was generally believed, and it would have been better to have refused entirely to do questionable work. Sabotage is fundamentally a secondary weapon, but if you have not the moral force to carry through open opposition, or if circumstances make it impossible, sabotage can be a last resort.

All of these activities, however, including occasionally the necessary destruction of the Germans' records and documents by fire or explosion, were carried out without violence to the Germans—only Norwegian lives were at stake.

But *secret* warfare is not always the most advisable. One of the most inspiring features of the unarmed resistance in Norway, and the one which appealed most

strongly to the whole nation, was its open and uncompromising nature, expressed from the first moment by so many, and by individuals as well as by groups, at the risk of liberty and of life.

The first resistance came, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, from the hundreds of thousands of youth in the athletic clubs. The Nazis tried to take over control of the clubs, probably to use them eventually for military ends. Immediately all organized athletic activity ceased, and remained in abeyance for the five years of the occupation.

The next to resist was the Supreme Court of Justice, whose members resigned their offices when the Germans tried to reshape the fundamental principles of justice in the image of the Nazi system.

Teachers and Clergy Resist

But the men who most of all became the prototypes of our spiritual resistance and unarmed struggle were our teachers and our clergy. All along the line the teachers refused to follow Nazi orders to alter their teaching to accord with Nazi principles, and the teachers took the consequences of their resistance. Hundreds were sent to prison or to compulsory labor in the Arctic, and schools were closed, though to some extent teaching went on secretly in the homes of the pupils. After half a year of privation and suffering in the frigid climate of Finnmark the teachers won, and the Germans sent them home and allowed them to resume their work. These men became important centers of resistance activity, and their example greatly strengthened our self-reliance and our faith.

Just as important was the undaunted and unflinching resistance of the Church. It was directed, with fine discrimination, not against the occupying power as such, but against the anti-Christian measures of the occupying power, and it tried to keep away from nationalistic resistance in its vulgar sense. In the best of its statements you could hear the authentic voice of primitive Christianity, challenging not the secular order, which in itself may be ethically neutral, but the perversion of that order to false ideals. The Church fought its combat openly and fearlessly, with an ability and a moral strength against which Quisling and the Germans stood powerless.

The clergymen and the bishops resigned their offices as civil servants and the salaries attached to them. But they went on with their work as preachers and the spiritual leaders of their parishioners, until they were forcibly transferred to places where the Germans hoped that they would be harmless. The leaders were sent to prison or to concentration camps; but the seed they had sown bore fruit many times over, and in one way or another most of those who were left continued their activity. The dissenting churches joined the State Church in its resistance with the same courage and ability.

Many more instances of open resistance could be enumerated, such as the open letter signed with the names and addresses of several hundred thousand parents protesting against the Nazis' efforts to win the children to their creed. These open demonstrations were the essence of the unarmed resistance, and its signal feature. They made it a struggle of the whole people, a struggle in which

everybody felt he was playing an important part, and in which there was a place for young and old, for women as well as for men.

You cannot carry through a successful unarmed resistance without the secret machinery, of which I spoke earlier, to do its task. This secret activity is necessary and dangerous and full of dramatic incidents, and it is possible to carry it on, as it was carried on in Norway, according to high moral principles and without violence. But it was the open resistance that gave to the struggle, more than anything else, its glamor and its glow.

Our attitude toward the Germans was determined on the one hand by our hatred of the brutality and the inhuman cruelty which the Gestapo constantly practiced and the soldiers defended, a hatred of their whole political and ideological system. It was tempered, however, by our understanding that we had no right to hold the individual responsible for all the acts done in the name of the system.

Now and then I tried to speak in a friendly way to a German soldier, but we very soon came to the point where I had to tell him how I looked on the Nazi system and the dirty work he was engaged on. At that point the friendly intercourse was at an end, and I was lucky if I was not reported to the Gestapo. Hardly a German would admit to a feeling of guilt in coming as a soldier to Norway, and without that admission intercourse was impossible. On the other hand, however, it was obvious to everyone that there were thousands of German soldiers who were opposed to the system. One might blame them for not having expressed their opposition (an expression which would almost certainly have meant death), but when one saw the unhappy and hopeless faces among them one understood that they felt powerless in the grip of demonic forces over which they had no control.

Most of them were terribly afraid of the Gestapo, even more than we were. For Norwegians, to resist was to feel ourselves one with the struggle of the whole nation, and to lean on the moral and material support of our own people and of our friends. The Germans had all of these factors ranged against them, and the few who dared to resist were shot as traitors. We could not therefore demand from them without qualification the same resistance against Nazism which we expected from our own people. It was for this reason also that our judgment of our own quislings was much harder than that of the average German.

"Quiet Happiness"

I should like to be able to impress upon you all that strange feeling of quiet happiness that filled most of us even under hard and difficult conditions.

The unshakable conviction of fighting in a good cause has always been the strongest incitement to the making of fanatical soldiers, and perhaps we also need fanatics. But above all we need efficiency and wisdom, courage and readiness to self-sacrifice. If we possess to some degree these qualities, nonviolent resistance will give us the sure and joyful knowledge of fighting in the cause of justice and of love.

And we shall also know that our fight is the only one leading to *lasting* victory.

News from the Peace Front

Army to Push UMT; News of Non-Registrants

Army spokesmen have announced that they will press Congress for a compulsory military training law (UMT) early in the next session. The General Staff appears to think it will have an even better chance to get it in the next Congress than in the present or previous ones. Both the Democratic and Republican slates were headed by ardent pro-UMT men, so the Army couldn't lose on that; and with Truman's re-election strong Presidential backing is assured. The Army also believes that the present international tension, which got Selective Service through Congress in the last session, will be a big help in passing a *permanent* conscription law.

Non-Registrants Arrested

John L. Singletary, ex-ministerial student, and L. Millard Hunt, both veterans of World War II, are being held under $1,000 bond in Macon, Georgia, for refusal to register for the draft. Both the men, who had been students at Mercer University, a Baptist institution in Macon, were denied permission to register for the current term because of their stand. The university officials declared that it was the policy that no student eligible for military service could enter unless he had completed his draft registration. They said the policy recognized the right of conscientious objection, but insisted that the law should be observed and classification sought under it.

Singletary and his wife, both white, received attention earlier this year by becoming members of a Negro Baptist church.

Harold Flakser, 23, of Brooklyn, also an ex-GI and therefore not subject to service under the present law, also refused to register. He said that "conscription is the negation of democracy; it is a denial of all our freedoms—freedom of religion, freedom of speech, etc. For this reason alone it ought to be resisted." Flakser was arraigned in Brooklyn Federal Court on October 14 and was released in $1,000 bail for action by the grand jury.

Sander Katz, ex-prison CO and non-registrant under the Selective Service Act 1948, was arrested on October 22 in New York and held in $2,500 bail for the grand jury. Bail was considerably higher than in the other cases, which were $500 or $1,000, probably because Katz had been previously imprisoned.

Perkoff Registers

Stuart Zane Perkoff, 18-year-old aspiring actor, who presented himself to the FBI in New York after refusing to register, and who was sent home by the judge for a week to think it over because "he's just

a baby," had a fantastic time of it, and finally registered.

After the week of thinking it over Perkoff appeared in court again on October 11 and said that he had not changed his mind. Assistant U. S. Attorney William Koerner and Perkoff's lawyer, Julien Cornell, tried again to persuade him, but without success, and he was arraigned that afternoon before Judge Murray D. Hulbert.

At the request of his attorney, and with the concurrence of Koerner, Judge Hulbert agreed to send Perkoff to jail for a few days, to see whether that would change his mind. Perkoff agreed, and at four o'clock that afternoon was taken to the Federal House of Detention in West Street. On October 15 he appeared in court again, still firm in his conviction, and was finally allowed to plead guilty.

Sentencing was set for October 29, two weeks later, and when the day came forty-five people picketed the courthouse. At about eleven o'clock they were informed that Perkoff had registered and had received a three-year suspended sentence. Assistant U. S. Attorney Irving Saypol told the court, "We intend to conduct a sweeping investigation of organizations urging young men not to register."

Concessions to Negroes

Five Army camps in the South were outlawed for the training of Negro draftees by Defense Secretary Forrestal as the Selective Service Act got under way. Camps in Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Texas were ruled out for Negroes, although white draftees will train there. The camp at Fort Knox, Kentucky, was retained on the approved list for Negro draftees at the request of Negro leaders, who said that citizens in that community had been so fair in their treatment of Negroes in uniform that they were willing to use it. Three other camps, all in the North, have been approved for Negro draftees.

The Army also announced that for the first time in the history of the Army, racial quota calls would be eliminated. Drafts of manpower will be called and transferred within the military establishment, it said, without reference to color, race or creed.

At Fort Dix, New Jersey, some interracial units have been established, without incident. In general, however, the Army will assign Negroes to Negro units.

You asked

about the FOR—the new folder of questions and answers about the program and principles of the Fellowship—is just off the press. Designed to introduce the pacifist idea to people who have never heard of it, or who have, but want to know more about it, this attractive folder is to be given away free wherever it will do some good.

Send for some now, for that person you see at meetings in good causes now and then, for your minister, for the old college friend you've been working on in your letters.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION
2929 Broadway
New York 25, N. Y.

Course in Pacifism Taught in College

The History, Literature and Technique of Reconciliation is a new course being taught at William Penn College by President Cecil Hinshaw. The course, part of the William Penn peace training program carried on in cooperation with the Peacemakers organization, has enrolled twenty-five upper class students, who will get credit for it in religion or sociology.

The course will begin with the New Testament basis of pacifism and the attitude of the early church toward war, and will go on to a comparative analysis of the pacifist teachings of the historic peace churches and the attitudes toward war of the other churches and of non-religious pacifists, and of the various points of view of opposition to pacifism.

Study will be made of the problems involved in simplified living, in ordering one's vocational choices so as to be a peacemaker, and in the development of effective fellowship group practices and disciplines. Students will also participate in projects outside the classroom, such as public speaking, personal conversations, and work camps, and consideration will be given to the most effective techniques for teaching pacifism to others.

Army Loyalty Check in Private Industry

The loyalty check instigated in government offices has been extended to private industry where government contracts are involved. Joint Army-Navy-Air Force boards are currently making decisions on the loyalty of private individuals employed by private firms that have defense contracts. Graduate engineers and skilled craftsmen have lost their jobs on evidence like this: 1) The wife of an executive engineer had invited Negroes to their home; 2) An aunt with whom the accused had quarreled violently three years before and had not seen or spoken to since, was a Communist; 3) The accused was an active union member and had once been seen going into a theatre showing Russian films.

Persons labeled disloyal are denied access to classified material involved in their work, and the employer then has the choice of firing the employee or losing the government contract. None has been known to hesitate.

A person may be labeled disloyal either for active espionage and the usual treasonable acts, or if there is "reasonable belief that the individual involved might" be induced to act against the interests of the United States. The word "reasonable" is interpreted by military officers who have not been provided with and are not bound by legal definitions.

As in the Federal loyalty check, neither witnesses nor evidence need be presented to the accused, on the ground that it is necessary to "protect the informants and information," so that the accused must try simply to prove himself not disloyal, rather than being allowed to try to disprove the specific evidence against him.

Found! At the Pocono Pines FOR conference, an Esterbrook fountain pen in a leather case. Write to Dewees F. Singley, 1540 Wingohocking Street, Philadelphia 40, Pa.

Divinity Student New Chicago Secretary

Robert Kraft, a twenty-four year old student at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Illinois, has been hired as part-time field secretary by the Chicago FOR. He succeeds Ruth Driscoll, who served as full-time Chicago secretary for some years before her resignation last spring.

Kraft served for two years in the Army Air Force as navigator in a bomber crew, and after much thought became a convinced pacifist. He was a delegate to the Oslo World Conference of Christian Youth in the summer of 1947 and spent three weeks in Poland as well on a deputation. He is a past president of the United Christian Youth Movement in the state of Washington, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Methodist Youth.

Food Packages with MPF Welcomed

The Meals for Millions Foundation produces the Multi-Purpose Food which is widely used in food packages to Europe and Asia. It is a mixture of soy grits, onion powder, protein derivative, salt, herbs and spices, and a number of vitamins, and may be used to stretch the slender diet on which many in Europe and Asia now subsist, either by combining with other food or by itself as soup or mush.

The above type of MPF, called Formula A, is the standard kind. There are, however, two other types. Formula B is identical to Formula A except that the seasoning is omitted, and Formula C, also unseasoned, is fortified with 25% non-fat milk solids, and is intended primarily as an infant food.

The important thing about MPF, as people who have used it have written to friends here, is that it is good, nourishing food, not bulky as its ingredients would be in their original form.

N. Y. Presbyterians Decry "Get-Tough"

In a unanimous vote, the Presbyterian Synod of New York on October 20 opposed the "get tough" policy and deplored the "daily mounting jealousy, ill-will and suspicion" between this country and Russia. The position was embodied in the report of the Synod's committee on social education and action, presented by the Reverend Shelby Rooks of New York, who is an FOR member.

"We believe," said the report, "that in all our dealings with the Soviet Union we should be patient, sympathetic, sparing no pains in the effort to put ourselves in the place of a people made hypersensitive by the events of recent history."

The report urged the full use of the United Nations in the settlement of international disputes, and urged the admittance of DPs to this country. It also deplored the present trend toward militarism in this country, declaring it to be "a threat to freedom at home and security abroad," and reaffirmed the Synod's opposition to peacetime conscription.

The Synod also deplored the housing situation and urged the Church to take an active role in transforming selfish attitudes.

British Pacifists Hold Street Meetings

The open-air public meeting is being used in England with great success by the Peace Pledge Union to spread the message of pacifism. In London five weekly and one bi-weekly meetings are held in locations scattered throughout the city. Meetings are also held in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, Manchester, Coventry and Birmingham.

In some locations the speakers find difficulty in collecting a crowd, while in others numbers of people are waiting when the speakers arrive. In Lincoln's Inn Fields in London there is often a crowd of up to 200 waiting for Sybil Morrison, who speaks there regularly every Thursday during the lunch hour.

The meetings include discussion, almost always sympathetic, of the pacifist position, what to do to avoid war, and so on. Frequently listeners ask that literature be sent to them, a brisk trade in *Peace News,* the paper of the Peace Pledge Union, is carried on, and new members are obtained. The people who carry on this work feel it is in many ways the most effective carried on by the PPU. Its value in bringing the message of pacifism to the general public can hardly be overestimated.

Goats to Japan, Heifers to Venezuela

The Heifers for Relief organization, which has been going in for goats lately, reports that the quota of 2,000 goats for Japan, which the Army agreed to transport from California to their destination free, has been filled, and the last of the goats left San Francisco in the latter part of October. Shipment began in May, with 270 goats arriving in Japan on May 13. The goats have been allocated 40% to Institutions, 40% to Agricultural Stations and Villages, and 20% to Agricultural Schools. The organization reports that the goats are paid for in full, but that they are financially in a hole from the expense of keeping and feeding them while waiting for transportation to Japan.

The Heifers for Relief has now announced a new project. It will send 200 Holstein and Brown Swiss heifers to Venezuela, to assist that country's project of taking in and helping Displaced Persons from Europe. Since the United States program of accepting DPs is so meager, Heifers for Relief feels that this is an excellent opportunity for Americans who want to do something but are unable to do so directly here. Although the organization's offices are at 30 North Marion Avenue in Pasadena, the heifers will be shipped from the east coast.

ABOUT THE ADS

FELLOWSHIP declines advertising which it considers obviously unsuitable. However, it does not want to censor ideas. FELLOWSHIP feels that it is a sound educational and democratic approach to assume that members can and should decide for themselves which ideas they want to follow up and which are useless or repugnant to them.

Jottings

Robert McKelvey and Annette Richards, two pickets arrested on September 25, 1947, while picketing the Freedom Train in New York with posters urging amnesty, are suing the policemen responsible for $20,000 damages for false arrest and malicious persecution. When the pickets were brought into court the case was dismissed after only the police evidence had been heard, Magistrate Harry Andrews declaring that there was "not the slightest doubt" that they were picketing legally.

* * *

The National Conference of Methodist Youth, at Albion, Michigan, on August 27-31, commended the Race Relations Department of the FOR for its nonviolent action in defending the civil rights of minority groups.

* * *

The American Legion, holding its whoopdedoo annual convention this year in Miami, Florida, surprised no one by coming out for the outlawing of communism in this country and by supporting UMT.

* * *

An attempt by World War II veterans to win the National Commandership from the heavily entrenched old guard of the Legion was unsuccessful.

* * *

Dr. Adelaide Case, longtime FOR member and Professor of Religious Education at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in Cambridge, died on June 19 after an illness of several months.

The University of Oklahoma accepted the enrollment of its first Negro student, G. W. McLaurin, this fall. The Board of Regents decided to accept him, after a Federal Court had ruled that the state's segregation laws, as applied to Mr. McLaurin, were unconstitutional. The Board instructed the University to maintain segregation in classes, which it is doing by having McLaurin sit in an anteroom to the class.

* * *

The World Day of Prayer will be March 4, 1949, the first Friday in Lent.

* * *

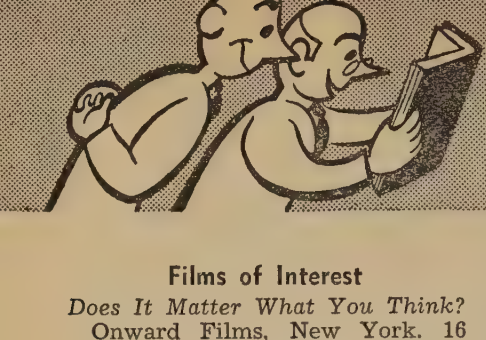
Rockets with atomic warheads, curving through the substratosphere, will be the "weapon of the future," says Air Chief Marshall Sir Roderic Hill, Britain's wartime chief of air defense. Such rockets, he allowed, are "without an adequate defense at the present time."

* * *

The Washington State Committee for Conscientious Objectors, formed in Seattle by clergymen, religious workers and church members, will give counseling and legal service to COs, either those who register or those who refuse to do so.

* * *

The Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) has launched a campaign to process and ship horse meat abroad, since it has a high food value and is widely used in Europe. CROP called on farmers and others to contribute horses and mules to the project.



Books

Films of Interest

Does It Matter What You Think? Onward Films, New York. 16 mm. black and white sound film. $47.50 list price, or may be rented from film rental library.

Puts forward the idea that it *does* matter what you think, shows how public opinion is formed and what an informed public opinion can accomplish. Rather spottily made, it does not flow along in the manner we have been accustomed to expect from Hollywood's products. Not good enough to be the sole film of the evening, but would be a good opener to use in a film program for a general audience who needed to be convinced that public opinion can be a useful and democratic weapon.

Boundary Lines. International Film Foundation, New York. $90. list price, or may be rented from film rental library.

A ten-minute animated color and sound film which pleads for the elimination of the lines which divide people from one another as individuals and as nations. Beginning with two boys fighting over a marble, it examines boundary lines of color, origin, and wealth, culminating in an accumulation of fear and suspicion and finally on the national level in concentration camps and war.

The film is composed of a series of paintings, moving lines, and realistic and abstract symbols combined. Thus it is told visually in a much more original way than it could be by standard film technique, but it is still delightful and easily understood.

Narration puts the points across, and the music which accompanies it is not standardized background music but is functional and an integral part of the film in a way that should always be aimed at but is almost never achieved.

An excellent film, recommended without reservations to anyone who can afford it.

—C.M.

Mental Casualties

All But Me and Thee, Brig. Gen. E. D. Cooke. Infantry Journal, 1946. 215 pp. $2.75.

Brig. Gen. Cooke, who was assigned by the Army General Staff to do a study of mental health casualties in the Army, has written a very readable account of his experiences. It is not only the kind of book you don't want to stop reading, but very profitable for those who are opposed to military training.

The book reports several statements of officers which indicate that military training, not combat, is the cause of most mental health casualties in the Army. One officer said, "We do not have definite figures regarding the combat cases . . . but we do know that 800 out of every 1000 psychoneurotics discharged never served outside the

continental limits of the United States."

Cooke reports that the problem of mental health is intensified if men who have become sick are returned to duty instead of being discharged. An Army psychiatrist is quoted: "They're all sick of the Army. We were able to effect a certain degree of recovery but return them to duty and they will immediately have a recurrence of their disorders."

One reason for mental crack-ups, according to General Cooke, is the contrast between normal civilian teaching and Army teaching. "For twenty years our younger generation has been told and retold that all wars are wrong. In school and at home the theme has been the same. No wars! No killing! As children they have even been forbidden to play with toy soldiers or guns. Then they are suddenly inducted into the military service and expected to become soldiers and kill people."

An article in the June *Liberty* magazine, "Are Americans Afraid to Fight?", concludes that the real reason the Army wants universal military training is that in the last war "at least four million physically sound, fighting-age Americans . . . either wouldn't or couldn't fight" because being in the Army produced serious conflicts. The Army through UMT wants to prepare boys mentally for war.

General Cooke indicates that the psychoneurotics in the Army are "able to take care of themselves all right" in civilian life. He adds, "Our Army psychiatrists have learned that in eight cases out of ten the mere fact of being subjected to Army training is the main reason for the disorders, so the doctors get their patients discharged and that ends the need for any more care or treatment."

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

Two Peace Plans

Peace or Anarchy, by Cord Meyer, Jr. Atlantic Monthly-Little Brown and Company, 1947. 233 pp. $2.50.

New World Primer, by Julien Cornell. New Directions Books, 1947. 174 pp. $2.00.

Cord Meyer, Jr., President of the United World Federalists, has written the most intelligent and convincing argument for world government which has yet appeared. He clearly sees all the difficulties which sovereign nations place in the way of establishing such a government; yet he argues powerfully that it is an absolute necessity if civilization is to survive, and presents logical reasons for believing that its creation is still possible.

The first part of his book proves beyond any reasonable doubt that preparedness cannot prevent war, and that there can be no real victor in any war waged under modern conditions. No pacifist has stated this case more graphically. He goes on to show that any attempt to be adequately prepared for modern war can lead only to the destruction of democracy and the establishment of military totalitarianism in the United States.

This book also faces squarely the problem of Russo-American relations, and points out what should be obvious, that if the United States arms heavily, Russia must also do so for her own security, and that such an armaments race in itself makes an otherwise un-

necessary war almost inevitable.

Under such circumstances, Meyer believes that a federal world government with a monopoly of armaments enforcing world law upon the individual citizen, offers mankind its only hope for peace. He correctly maintains that collective security among sovereign nations can lead only to a new type of war, especially when there are only two great powers in the world. His suggestions for changes in the United Nations Charter to transform it into a world federal government with limited powers are excellent.

He suggests that the United States should take the initiative in proposing such changes. To prove its good faith, this country would have to surrender its monopoly of atomic bombs. Then, Meyer feels, Russia would probably agree to the establishment of the new system.

Only at the very end does the book become weak. After he has conclusively proved earlier that modern war can lead only to destruction, he ends by saying that if Russia refuses the offer of the United States, this country will have no alternative but to build up its own armaments, and, by implication, accept totalitarianism, and ultimate destruction. It is strange indeed that one who has presented the pacifist argument so convincingly, should still be blind to the conclusion which ought to arise from his own logic. But Cord Meyer, Jr., accepts the primary assumption upon which, in his first chapter, he blames all of our difficulties—that, in the end, to attempt to preserve one's own national state is more important than anything else. At this point pacifists would have to part company with him.

Julien Cornell's *New World Primer* is a simpler book. It presents in logical order a set of conclusions about the nature of international relations, which accept more glibly than Meyer does the widely held notion that all we have to do to have peace is to organize a world state. Since the book includes very little factual information to support its arguments, it is not apt to convince those who do not already accept its conclusions. Julien Cornell also falls into the error (which Cord Meyer rejects) that, if Russia won't join a world government, other nations can organize one without her. The book includes analyses of early plans for international organization, and reprints the League Covenant, the Atlantic Charter, and the United Nations Charter. It is a useful handbook, but the arguments for world government are much more effectively stated by Cord Meyer, especially from a pacifist's viewpoint.

—Theodore Paullin

About the Reviewers

Theodore Paullin was formerly Assistant to the Director of the Pacifist Research Bureau, and co-author with the Director, Harrop Freeman, of the PRB studies "Coercion of States in International Organizations" and "Road to Peace." He is a teacher, and has been on the faculties of Swarthmore College and the Teachers College of Connecticut. . . . John M. Swomley, Jr., Associate Secretary of the FOR, spent most of the past three years in Washington fighting UMT.

Letters

Still Interested

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

. . . Some time ago, I received a note asking if I was still interested in the FOR. I don't remember answering it. But one can't be in this work and not be interested in the FOR. Now, even more than before, do I cherish my membership. . . .

Incidentally, Professor Takenaka, who helped organize the FOR in Japan before the war, is well and still teaching at Doshisha University. He is a colleague of mine.

ROBERT H. GRANT
Doshisha University, Japan

Appeal from Paraguay

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

This letter is written at a time of international crisis. There is much more talk of war than is good for the peace of the world. The present tense situation may pass over, but it probably will be used as an excuse for the forces of militarism in all parts of the world to establish themselves more firmly and to extend their power over people. It is also clear that peace can flourish only in an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill, and that this present increasing fear and distrust will inevitably lead to disaster. There must therefore be many of your readers who are asking the question, "What positive and practical task is there for a lover of peace to do, in the face of threatening total war?" We, of the Society of Brothers, living at Primavera, Alto Paraguay, would welcome the opportunity through your paper to make contacts with such seeking people.

Here at Primavera are more than five hundred people of different nationalities whose lives are devoted to a peaceful, brotherly way of living. Over eighty families and a number of unmarried men and women live and work in community. All property is held in common, as it was among the early Christians. Each one works to the utmost of his or her strength and ability, and receives, in accordance with his or her need, what the simple means of the community can supply. No wages are paid. All work is done voluntarily, the urge to work being the social, economic and religious need of our time.

We are expecting the arrival soon of one hundred and thirty displaced persons from the U. S. Zone of Germany. Among them are a number of destitute widows with their children. We are building houses for them and clearing more forestland to cultivate it for their food. Other people from various countries, including the United States, have expressed their intention of coming to live and work with us, and several young North Americans have already arrived among us.

Here is a constructive task to be done, and people and means are needed to do it better. We should welcome letters from men and women who want to help us to build a brotherly order of society and to experience community life themselves. We should also be glad to hear from

people ready to help financially with the burden that providing for so many newcomers has placed upon us. We invite inquiries from interested friends and will gladly give them more detailed information.

SOCIEDAD FRATERNAL HUTTERIANA,
THE BROTHERHOOD AT PRIMAVERA
Primavera, Alto Paraguay.

Reply to Foote

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Caleb Foote can't, I regret to say, see beyond the end of his nose. His remarks in "Politics and Freedom" merely extend to the current political scene the same weirdly subjective thinking which caused good COs to declare during the war that a government has no "right" to, or claim on, any service of its component citizens except insofar as the latter individually and rationally assent.

Mr. Foote's grand impatience with Bigness completely ignores the structure of modern civilization, and makes him appear to be seeking philosophic refuge in the romantic super-individualism of Rousseau and Spencer. He has in mind, apparently, the Noble But Idealistically Motivated and Cooperating Savage of the Eighteenth Century imagination. The author would remove the interconnections and complexities of modern life (including modern warfare), thereby also removing a majority of the world's population which is directly and physically dependent on so much of a world society as we have, by the messy and rather un-Christian methods of starvation and epidemic. Casting about blindly for some single Root of All Evil, Mr. Foote can only slash at the most readily apparent symbol of the complexity and interdependency of our modern world.

Big Government isn't *all* bad, as Caleb might discover if he took the trouble to ask any Southern Negro whether he prefers "federal bureaucratic meddling" or the gentle local governments which understand the colored man so well.

Come to think of it, Mr. Foote was complaining that none of the political parties is intelligent enough to agree with him. There is one he forgot which echoes all his major arguments. C.F., I'll give you J. Strom Thurmond—vote for him and have the distinction of being the only FOR member who does so.

DON LEIFFER
Chicago, Illinois

TILL DEATH US DO PART. By Charles Wesley Amlin. Introduction by Carey McWilliams. Proposes completely new marriage law. With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual. Send $1 to Camden House, 2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.

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The Bold, New Look

For almost a year now, FELLOWSHIP has been appearing in a brand new format, streamlined but attractive, neat but not gaudy. If the reader-response is a true index, the people love it, for comments have been overwhelmingly favorable.

The Very Few

Now is the time for all good men, women, children, babies, and twins to come to the aid of a very important cause. There are few of us—*very* few—who can point with pride to copies of FELLOWSHIP on the shelves of our town's public library, in the hands of our minister and leading laymen, and in the schools. For a modest $1.50 you may send a year's subscription (Special Christmas Gift Offer) to one of them, or to a friend, and we need not tell you how important it is to bring the FOR position before people who have never heard of it before, or who may be interested and should be encouraged.

What Say?

During the maiden year of the Bold New Look we have had articles on taxes, ERP, China, Henry Wallace, Gandhi, and individual responsibility, and written by Donald Harrington, Milton Mayer, Vera Brittain, A. J. Muste, Theodore D. Walser, E. R. Bowen and John Haynes Holmes, among many others.

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NEW AND SPECIAL

Thy Men Shall Fall $3

Sidney and Samuel Moss, both combat veterans, have written an anti-war novel based their experiences which is a grim indictment of a society which cannot live without "Thy men shall fall by the sword. . . ."—Isaiah 3: 24-5.

The Psychiatric Study of Jesus $2

Albert Schweitzer's well-known book, re-issued after being out of print for some time. deeply religious Christian and pacifist is coming into his own as one of the truly remark men of his time.

There Is a Spirit $1

Kenneth Boulding's Nayler sonnets, a series of twenty-six exquisitely wrought, deeply mo religious poems. A small book bound in blue cloth and with beautiful hand-set type, th an excellent gift to introduce a friend to pacifism.

Essays from Tula $3

Leo Tolstoy, famous Russian novelist and pacifist, is presented to readers in this grou essays which include "True Criticism," "Thou Shalt Kill No One," "The End of the A and "Love One Another." Introduction by Nicolas Berdyaev.

Christian Pacifism in Two World Wars $2

Leyton Richards, English minister and one of the founders of the FOR, re-evaluates C tian pacifism in the light of the new challenges and the new insights brought by experience of two world wars.

GIFT BOOKS

Not by Might, A. J. Muste $5
Ends and Means, Aldous Huxley
Not As the World Giveth, Philippe Vernier
Is God Evident?, Gerald Heard
The Church, the Gospel and War, Symposium
Crumbling Barriers, Constance Rumbough
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Guide to True Peace, Fenelon, Mme. Guyon, Molinos

NOVELS OF INTEREST

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of the great soul, told in his own
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Krishnalal Shridharani, friend and
reflects Gandhi's simplicity and gr
stirring experience, climaxed by th

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John S. Hoyland answers the qu
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What did he do about communali

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E. Stanley Jones, who for more the
struggle in India, is well qualifi
Readers of Dr. Jones' earlier books

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four million dollars was collected
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GIFT ANNOUNCEMENT

Gift cards will be enclosed, with the name of the donor, where requested. If you wish gifts sent to more than one person, please list addresses and orders on separate sheet. Books not listed on this folder may also be ordered.

Christmas Card 1948

In its Christmas Cards, the Fellowship tries to express the true meaning of Christmas as a significant observance, not just a mid-winter holiday. A medieval religious woodcut will appear on the front of the card.

The words inside the card were inspired by a queen of Poland in the Fourteenth Century. In spite of the passage of time and the changed face of the earth, they are as clearly meaningful today as they were then.

Queen Jadwiga of Poland

[1372 (?) - 1399]

Nor can that endure which has not
its foundations upon love.
For love alone diminishes not,
but shines with its own light;
Makes an end of discord,
softens the fires of hate,
Restores peace in the world,
brings together the sundered,
Redresses wrongs, aids all and injures none;

And whoso invokes its aid
will find peace and safety,
And have no fear of future ill.

THE CARD

A folder, 4 x 5½ inches, with space for a personal message, an envelope with each card.

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THE CAUSE

As in past years, the proceeds from the sale of the cards will go to the FOR War Victims Fund.

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